

/67 cont. /

000 knew how to master our feelings; when the sugar supply, the rapadura, dwindled, it became necessary to distribute the remainder individually, so that each one at the camp could prepare his refreshing drink in a thrifty or extravagant way, as he wished, and later, at the Fazenda San Manoel, when we found only a small supply of rapadura, which we cut into pieces of exactly the same size, we became seriously excited about the discovery that the soldiers, with whom we shared fairly, had secretly obtained a number of the bonbon tricks.

• 476 The Bakaïrî lived like a single family; they mutually distributed the booty from fishing and hunting among the various houses; in each house there had to be a further distribution among 000 the various families. The time when they learned to plant mandioca and maize, and were then able to assure themselves of a regular supply of food, was a new era. Until /68/ then they had lived from hand to mouth, as we did on the expedition, and being alone for the sake of peace and quiet was then perhaps a reasonable, useful arrangement. That arrangement, practiced from childhood on and having become a habit which was in their blood, was carried over into the period of sedentary life when agriculture predominated and it no longer had any meaning. Then the feeling of modesty developed. For it could no longer be justified as truly sensible, it was not examined as to its justification by circumstances, every old habit is there for its own sake; it is then called "sacred" because it has simply become a matter of feeling. One is ashamed when a person violates it, and is the more righteously ashamed the less one is able to say what grievous thing he has actually committed. One who has passed through another process of development, who looks at the matter itself and not the false conception arrived at through a reinterpretation, and who is in their position, asks astonished: "Why is it not proper not to eat alone?" "Why," the Bakaïrî asks us, "is it not proper to be naked?" The one would have to know that one remains "naked" under his clothing; the other that one eats "alone" even in the largest company. Quite certainly our feeling of modesty in the

/261 cont./

352 The Bakairí slept in hammocks, amaka, woven of palm fiber.
 [415] Their furnishings can be summed up as benches of a solid
 [285] piece of wood, clay pots, mats and baskets. The diet rests
 262 upon manioc, piquí, sweet potatoes, maize, and fish. How-
 224 ever, the hunting of monkeys, wild pig, tapir, and other ani-
 [241] mals was not scorned. Most of the food reserves, however,
 were of vegetable origin, and the most important harvests
 were made up of manioc, maize, sweet potatoes, and piquí.
 Yams /cará/, cotton, urucú, and tobacco were also planted.

342 The occupants of a communal house worked together on
 476 the building of a new house, acquiring thereby the right to
 622 reside in it. This construction work, however, was led by the
 individual who had the most prestige in the group, usually the
 old head of the house, who thus set himself up as the head of
 241 the new house. The tasks of clearing fields and planting
 476 generally depended on the participation of all the aldeas. When
 527 beginning a new clearing, the Bakairí would give a feast,
kométe, with the distribution of food to the Indians who worked
 501 on the field. The Bakairí made canoes from the bark of the
 [824] jatobá tree, in the Xinguano way. This construction, as well
 [82] as fishing, hunting, and agricultural activities, were accom-
 panied by propitiatory rituals.

437 Their products were bartered among neighboring groups
 574 in the course of visits called tuliki which depended on the
 presence of the chiefs of both aldeas. After the exchange of
 the objects desired, the visitors were honored with a feast
 called tulake.

621 /262/ The Bakairí were not a warlike people, and their
 181 political organization does not seem very elaborate. Each
 622 aldeia had a chief, pima, assisted by a subchief, itáida. The
 624 Bakairí do not remember the existence of a chief for the whole
 [643] tribe, and there is no evidence that such a figure ever existed.
 The selection of the itáida was made by means of agreement
 of the aldeas, but it generally fell on the son of the pima him-
 self. The pima's functions were chiefly ceremonial, economic,
 and juridical.

[P. 72-B]

Bacairi

323 pots are quite distinct from the pottery of the Indians living on the Upper Paraguay River. Bacairi pots are flat-bottomed and have straight vertical walls with everted rims. The pots in common use were, and still are, black in color, unglazed, and undecorated. Some of the pots

[532] seen were made in the forms of frogs, turtles, fish, and birds. The Bacairi claim that they

[531] formerly had decorated pottery called *awaga*, painted with black, gray, red, and brown designs.

● 476 The Bacairi also had economic activities in which the whole village, or a number of communal houses, participated. The *kometé*, or collective land clearing, was one of these. A man would invite a large number of relatives and friends to assist him in clearing a new piece of forest land. The women would participate by preparing large amounts of food and honey beverage

[262] for the workers. The new field would remain the property of the man who initiated the *kometé*, obligating him to work in return if called upon, but sometimes the group of men who cleared the field would divide it among them.

342 House building was always an enterprise in which the whole village took part. The group that was interested in raising the house cut the beams and poles necessary for the framework and prepared large quantities of food. While a certain number of men began to put up the framework, others went to gather grass for thatching.

[539] When they returned with the thatching they put on their ceremonial decorations and danced the *mahulawári* dance. House building was thus not only an economic act but also a ceremonial occasion.

286 Hammock weaving was, at times, a collective enterprise. A woman with a larger than usual cotton crop distributed cotton among her friends and when the work was completed she organized a feast and dance.

437 Ceremonial trading expeditions (*takhi*) were organized by the chief of the village. During the rainy seasons, when the rivers were high and canoe travel easy, the men of a village would collect whatever excess goods they had, such as bows, baskets, ornaments, hammocks, and even food, and would go to a neighboring village where the chief would receive them before the ceremonial house. The two chiefs would then supervise the exchange of commodities. After the trading was

[P. 76-B]

527 gather the ceremonial corn. Later in the day the women prepared large quantities of corn porridge and roasted ears.

On the morning of the third day the actual ceremony began in front of the *kadoéti*. The organizer of the dance distributed roasted ears or pieces of ears to all the villagers, children included. Then at a signal from the leader, the villagers began throwing the roasted corn in all directions and at one another. After the roasted corn was [262] disposed of, the people ate the corn porridge and meat prepared on the preceding day. They then washed themselves in the river and put on their paint and ornaments. When the villagers had again gathered before the *kadoéti* the dance leader took a piece of corn husk and went from man to man asking for a song leader. The man who 527 took the offered corn husk then began the 533 *yawaisári*, or song in praise of corn. Little by little the others joined in the singing and eventually began to dance. The words of the song told how corn came to the Bacairi and how it made the people strong and healthy.

891 The *ransegéro*, or ear-piercing ceremony, was 304 performed just before a boy went into puberty seclusion. It was customary for men who had sons of about the same age to cooperate in getting large quantities of food ready for the feast. After the feast was over the ears of the boys were pierced [533] and the *poinwáto* song was sung. When boys and girls came out of seclusion there was another ceremony during which all the songs and dances were performed with the exception of the sacred flute tunes.

342 The *mahulawári* was performed during coopera- 476 tive house building in which the whole village participated. While the women prepared food and some men were putting up the frame, a certain [527] number of men went in search of palm fronds for thatching. When these men returned with the palm fronds they danced and sang before the new house with their loads on their backs and in full ceremonial regalia.

286 The custom of distributing cotton by a woman 574 with a good cotton crop and having other women weave hammocks for her has already been mentioned. When the women had completed their weaving and returned the hammocks to the donor of the cotton, she gave a feast during which the [533] women sang and danced the *yamaitúma*. This